

MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY: REFLECTING THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

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The question of the relationship between the teachings of Islam and the principles of democracy is, undoubtedly, one of the most pressing issues facing the Muslim world today. The principles of elected rulers, consultative bodies, accountability, tolerance, and the rule of law are not alien or new to Islam. The purpose of this thesis is to seek the elements of compatibility of Islamic principles and practice under democratic governance. This comparison is then mirrored and reflected against the governments of Malaysia and Indonesia by seeking the influence of Islam and the role it plays in the formulation of policies by the government today and in the future to fulfill the call of democratization.

KEYWORDS: Islam and Democracy, Role of Islam in Malaysia, Role of Islam in Indonesia

PREVENTING MILITARY INTERVENTION IN WEST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF GHANA

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Consistently poor economic performance in Ghana and elsewhere in West Africa has led to pressure on governments from civil society, which has in turn led to authoritarianism and a search for compliance that has drawn the military into politics and finally into government. Military governments have performed equally poorly in economic management and governance and have relied on the civilians they had overthrown to govern. Likewise, civilian administrations have relied upon, and manipulated the military institution and structures thereby politicizing the military and restarting the cycle of military intervention. This cycle has repeated itself several times in the post colonial period and any effort to design a system for preventing military interventions must address itself to this cycle. The thesis will also show that the relationships between the military, the executive branch, Ministry of Defense and the legislature are very important in ensuring effective civil-military relations and breaking the cycle of military interventions. In addition, a balance of the activities of the intelligence agencies, which must operate in secrecy but with some form of transparency is very important in democratic consolidation.

KEYWORDS: Military Intervention, Civil-Military Relations, Democratic Consolidation in Ghana, Intelligence Processes

SECURITY IN TRANSITION: POLICE REFORM IN EL SALVADOR AND SOUTH AFRICA

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This thesis compares police reform efforts in El Salvador and South Africa, two cases of *negotiated* war transitions. Although both countries faced similar militarization of internal security forces, South Africa seemed in a much better position to face challenges of consolidation. First, South Africa's military did not pose any opposition to police reform because the military and police had a long history of being organizationally separated. In contrast, El Salvador's police had a history of being controlled and directed by the military and they fell organizationally under the Defense Ministry. Second, in South Africa, the opposition group (ANC) rather than the rightist government won the foundational elections. Increased domestic support for internal security reform is more likely when the previous rightist government is discredited. Conversely, in El Salvador, the rightist ARENA government won the foundational elections indicating that it would more likely lead to lack of domestic support. The continuance of power would likely mean that the government would prefer the continuance of status quo to far-reaching reform.

Finally, the international community was available to aid in the implementation and consolidation of reform in both countries. However, because domestic support was likely to be greater in South Africa, the international community's ability to influence the implementation of reform would also be greater. Yet, the outcome of reform efforts in both countries was surprisingly similar. This can best be explained by the overwhelming obstacles to the consolidation of police reform posed by the conditions of post-conflict societies.

KEYWORDS: Police Reform, Security Reform, El Salvador, South Africa, Civil-Military Relations, Negotiations, Transition to Democracy, South African Police, National Civilian Police, National Police, South African Police Service

THE UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES IN PEACEKEEPING: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES

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Rapid changes have characterized international relations since the end of the Cold War. Transitioning democracies have been the scene of often-violent change, enduring civil war, political and economic struggle, and ethnic strife. Transitioning nations increasingly need peacekeeping operations to maximize their chances for success. Historically however, peacekeeping operations created by the United Nations have been ad hoc "coalitions of the willing" and have not been conducive to establishing professional peacekeeping forces. This thesis proposes that the more professional the peacekeeping operation, the higher the chance of success for the peacekeeping mission.

The need for change to professional peacekeeping is particularly true for the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The development of standing national forces designed and trained to act in crisis management and peacekeeping operations is critical for success. Using the Polish-Ukrainian Peacekeeping Battalion (UKRPOLBAT) as a model, a separate brigade within the Ukrainian Armed Forces should be established to specifically and only perform peacekeeping missions. Thus, this unit could be used as a springboard to begin the professionalization of peacekeeping not only in Ukraine, but also in Europe and the rest of the world.

KEYWORDS: Peacekeeping, Professionalization, UKRPOLBAT, Ukrainian Armed Forces, Ukrainian-Polish Relations

CROATIAN MEMBERSHIP IN NATO: ONE OF THE CRUCIAL PREREQUISITES FOR STABILIZATION OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

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This thesis analyzes the past and present development of Croatia and the Euro-Atlantic political, military and economic spheres. It suggests that the next logical step on the way to a stable and prosperous Southeastern Europe is Croatian admittance to NATO. Croatian membership in NATO is arguably *conditio sine qua non* for the process of regional stabilization and democratization. This policy became obvious when democratic developments in Croatia in 2000 caused positive changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Serbia. The changes in Croatia, accompanied by promising economic achievements and sufficient civilian control over the military, opened the door for Croatia to enter Euro-Atlantic institutions.

All the aforementioned achievements, along with Croatia's contribution to Partnership for Peace and increasing international cooperation in other areas, strongly suggest Croatia's potential for becoming a full-fledged NATO member and is a significant factor in increasing the security of the region. The thesis argues by providing historical, economic and political facts, that in the present situation, all necessary requirements for NATO membership have been satisfied by Croatia. Therefore, acceptance itself is thus only a political decision of the NATO members.

The thesis provides evidence that Croatia has become equally or better prepared than other serious aspirants to be a member of NATO by providing a comparative overview of the basic data considered for admission to NATO. It also demonstrates that Croatian membership represents a significant benefit to the Alliance and contributes to the achievement of the basic NATO goals in Southeastern Europe. Additionally, the thesis addresses various benefits that the neighboring countries might reap from Croatian membership in the Alliance, which will enhance not only regional, but also European security

KEYWORDS: Croatia, NATO, Partnership for Peace, Membership Action Plan, NATO Enlargement, Croatian History, Homeland War, Croatian Democratization, European Union, Southeastern Europe, Former Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Serbian Aggression

ESTONIAN ROAD TO EFFECTIVE DEFENSE: CIVIL-MILITARY DIMENSION

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Today's world is characterized by rapid changes in international relations. Most of Europe is engaged in transatlantic cooperation founded upon common democratic values. For Estonia, the most significant development in the international environment is the process of Euro-Atlantic integration: the continued enlargement of the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). From the time they were formed, these structures have guaranteed peace, stable social development and economic growth for the member nations. For Estonia, membership offers a realistic and historically unique opportunity to secure its democracy and sovereignty. This thesis addresses how participation in the NATO MAP process has contributed to Estonia's national security goals, specifically the construction of a civilian consensus on defense matters and the setting of realistic goals. Moreover, the thesis shows how Estonia will reach two main goals of defense policy:

First, to develop and maintain an indigenous and credible national defense capable of defending the nation's vital interests, which requires a national security planning process that contributes to a civilian consensus on defense matters; and to create a national security planning process that sets realistic goals.

Second, to develop the Estonian Defense Forces (EDF) in a way that ensures their interoperability with the armed forces of NATO and EU member states and their capability to participate in Peace Support Operations.

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KEYWORDS: Republic of Estonia, Defense Planning, Defense Policy, Civil-Military Relations, NATO, Membership Action Plan, Annual National Programme, Estonian Defense Forces, Baltic Military Cooperation, BALTBAT, ESTBAT, Peace Support Operations, Soviet Legacy

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA DEMOCRATIZATION EFFORTS: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

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On September 17, 1991, Macedonia declared its independence, and executed a bloodless separation from Yugoslavia. Working toward democratic consolidation, they survived economic blockades, border disputes, state symbol disputes and constitution changes. They joined the United Nations in 1993 and continue to establish diplomatic relations with other countries throughout the world.

Until March of 2001, Macedonia served as a model of success for the United Nations. For the first time in history, the United Nations deployed a protection force to a state where hostilities did not currently exist. The U.N. claims that their presence allowed Macedonia's ethnic mix of people to continue to live side by side, in relative peace, despite the ongoing ethnic cleansing in the Balkans. Even so, Macedonia continues to face a plethora of obstacles in their attempt to join the European Union, NATO and the international community, including regional instability, inability to attract substantial investment, ethnic tension and slow economic recovery.

Less than two years after UN observer presence terminated, events indicate this new state may possibly fail in its attempt to consolidate democracy. What went wrong, and why did bloody conflict break out in Macedonia after ten years of peace? Macedonia has a chance for survival, and can consolidate their democracy, only with intervention from the United Nations, and Western democracies, including the plethora of government and non-government organizations. Limited intervention from international institutions will provide the checks and balances, guidelines, training and advice for Macedonia's democracy to survive as a multi-ethnic state. However, Macedonia's current efforts are concentrated first toward alignment with NATO, then possibly the European Union. NATO has not yet developed in its nation-building capabilities to solve Macedonia's current breakdown. NATO is expanding, and developing as a nation building organization, but still has its roots as a pluralist security community, with an emphasis on common international security goals. The European Union is also not prepared to handle ethnic strife within the Balkans.

KEYWORDS: Macedonia, Democracy, Consolidation, NATO, United Nations, European Union, Political Society, International Intervention, Civil Society, Balkans, International Organizations, UNPROFOR, UNPREDEP

EFFECTS OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ON THE THAI MILITARY FUNCTIONS (1980s TO PRESENT)

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This thesis analyzes the effects of global economic conditions on Thailand's military functions from the 1980s to present. The theoretical model is based on Garrette and Lange's framework (1996) of the change of economic conditions on domestic politics. The thesis has found that Thailand's economic integration into the international economy does not directly affect its military's functions. Nevertheless, the export-led growth strategy for the economic growth since the 1980s has created a middle class and resulted in a shift of political power among domestic actors from the military to the private sector. The role of the middle class in limiting the military's role in the political arena has been evident since the people's protest in 1992.

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According to the change in power of domestic actors, the thesis concludes that the Thai military's functions in the near future will be less aggressive and involve more compromise with elected politicians. Additionally, the military will readjust its role and mission in Thai society in order to maintain its prerogative. In the author's point of view, if and only if both serious political instability and a collapse of the Thai market economy are uncontrollable by the existing government, then the Thai people shall demand the Thai military to directly intervene.

KEYWORDS: Thailand's Civil-Military Relations, Thailand's Economic Integration, Thai Military Functions, Thailand and Burma, Asian Economic Crisis

SUB-REGIONAL COOPERATION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

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This thesis analyses the sub-regional cooperation in East Central Europe. It argues that the changed security environment after the fall of the Iron Curtain made the states of the region realize the need for close cooperation in order to meet the requirements of membership of the larger security institutions. It draws upon the example of the Hungarian-Romanian joint Peacekeeping Battalion as an example of military cooperation at the sub-regional level.

Sub-regional cooperation and organizations are perfect tools for EU candidate countries in preparing for the enlargement. The mutual interest of the involved states and the criteria of the expansion itself in this phase already brought stability to the region. Sub regionalism develops and prepares the economies, the infrastructure of the aspirant countries and helps consolidates their democracies. Since good-neighboring relations is one of the requirements for membership, sub-regional cooperation with the cross-border contracts that include every level of society promote tolerance between ethnic groups and helps overcome the historical real or fictitious injustices and promotes good relations between nations.

KEYWORDS: Sub-Regional Cooperation, Hungarian-Romanian Joint Peacekeeping Battalion

